174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

191 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
601 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
● 768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

766 Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken up for her. /25/

Chapter XIII

Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡∴+ , (from the verb "ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance, if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of the "tiousse," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided according to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by lot.

Chapter XIV

The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⁞⊐‖ , of goats or sheep,

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *tawsit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*iesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arousi* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

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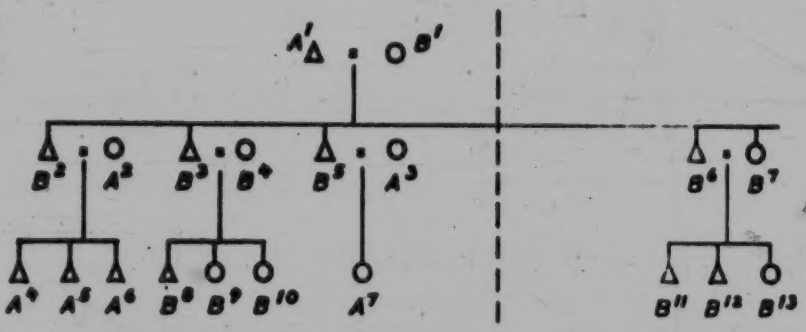

Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan (A^1) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan (B^1).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of A^1 of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of B^1, and they will remain there also after the death of B^1.

At the death of B^8 his wife A^8 and her children A^4 A^5 will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with A^6 and her child A^7 at the death of B^6. At the death of B^6 his wife B^4 and children B^8–B^{10} will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B-persons belong.

If B^6 dies while A^1 is still alive, B^7 and her children B^{11} B^{12} will go back to the camp of A^1 in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of A^1 they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of B^2, B^3, and B^5.

[614] [682] If for instance B^6 kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A^1 is alive and B^6 lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If A^1 has died and B^6 consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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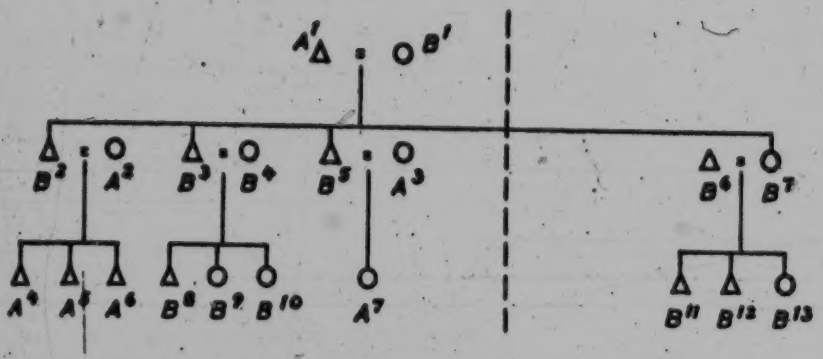

Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe (A^1) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe (B^1). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of A^1 of the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of B^1, and they will remain there also after the death of B^1.

At the death of B^2 his wife A^2 and her children A^4–A^6 will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with A^3 and her child A^7 at the death of B^5. At the death of B^3 his wife B^4 and children B^8–B^{10} will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If B^6 dies while A^1 is still alive, B^7 and her children B^{11}–B^{13} will go back to the camp of A^1 in the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of A^1 they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of B^2, B^3, and B^5.

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If for instance B^3 kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lowayen*) the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A^1 is alive and B^3 lives with the *Ajjuh-en-tehlé* tribe. If A^1 has died and B^3 consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

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(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen.

[768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *Ajjuh-en-tehlé*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.